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П	FOR STAFFING
П	FOR INFORMATION
X	FROM PRESIDENT'S OUTBOX
П	LOG IN/TO PRESIDENT TODAY
П	IMMEDIATE TURNAROUND

X X X	
X X	MONDALE
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X	EIZENSTAT
X	JORDAN
X	LIPSHUTZ
	MOORE
	POWELL
	WATSON
X	McINTYRE
	SCHULTZE

ENROLLED BILL
AGENCY REPORT
CAB DECISION
EXECUTIVE ORDER

Comments due to Carp/Huron within 48 hours; due to Staff Secretary next day

	ARAGON
	BOURNE
	BRZEZINSKI
	BUTLER
	CARP
L	H. CARTER
	CLOUGH
L	FALLOWS
L	FIRST LADY
L	HARDEN
L.	HUTCHESON
L	JAGODA
	GAMMILL
, -	

KRAFT
LINDER
MITCHELL
MOE
PETERSON
PETTIGREW
POSTON
PRESS
SCHLESINGER
SCHNEIDERS
STRAUSS
VOORDE
WARREN

12/28/77

Mr. President:

No objection from Hamilton.

Rick

December 28, 1977

The Vice President Hamilton Jordan

The attached is forwarded to you for your information.

Rick Hutcheson

RE: WATER PROJECT FUNDING IN JANUARY BUDGET

FOR STAFFING FOR INFORMATION

FROM PRESIDENT'S OUTBOX

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December 28, 1977

Stu Eizenstat Frank Moore Jim McIntyre

> The attached was returned in the President's outbox. It is forwarded to you for appropriate handling.

cc: The Vice President

Hamilton Jordan

WATER PROJECT FUNDING IN RE:

JANUARY BUDGET

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL





THE PRESIDENT HAS SHEN-

Je Conceencie recommend

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

That all these be funded. My budget is what I Think should be funded-RESIDENT We won't make

THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM FOR

STU EIZENSTAT JIM MCINTYRE W

FROM

FRANK MOORE F.M.

SUBJECT:

Water Project Funding in January Budget

This memo follows up on our discussions of funding R. B. Russell, Cache Basin and the other water projects funded by the Congress against our recommendation in FY 1978, and on other water project issues raised at your meeting with environmentalists.

FY 1979 Budget

In view of the ongoing water policy review and the changing politics of at least some of these projects, we recommend funding these projects in the January Budget, but including an explanation in the document that our recommendations are subject to the outcome of the Water Policy Review.

At the completion of the Review, we would consider budget amendments for new starts and possible deletions in the context of the reformed criteria. is also our understanding that we should proceed with deauthorization legislation for projects zerofunded by the Congress last year (with the exception of two Interior Department projects which require further study). The deauthorization effort need not be tied to the Budget or Water Policy Review process. However, Frank's staff feels that it will be extremely difficult to move deauthorization legislation on the Hill, because the authorizing committees have their own procedures and timetables for deauthorizing inactive projects.

You should know that politically it is quite likely that we could now succeed in deleting the Cache Project. Senator McClellan's replacement strongly opposes the project and Senator Bumpers has not been strongly for it. Support is mixed in the House,

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although the Congressman in whose District the project is located (Alexander) supports it. The principal problem with deleting it now is that it would appear inconsistent with funding the others. However, that is an option which could be carried out after further consultation on the Hill.

R. B. Russell, on the other hand, is strongly supported in the Senate and it is unlikely we would succeed in deleting this project short of vetoing an appropriations bill. Butler Derrick has indicated that he still opposes the project but does not want to go through the fight again unless we can guarantee a victory, which would probably entail an appropriations bill veto in an election year.

Columbia Dam (TVA) is a unique case. The project appears to violate the Endangered Species Act. David Freeman has suggested that a smaller, more cost-effective project could be carried out and perhaps politically supported by the Tennessee delegation. The OMB allowance on this project is proposed to be accompanied by guidance to TVA to investigate an alternate project and not to spend funds in violation of the Endangered Species Act.

Decision:

Delete none now, but leave opportunities for revision at the end of the Water Policy Review (recommended)	
Delete Cache Basin now	
Delete both Cache and Russell	
Delete all projects funded by Congress against our recommendation with some Cycephone (CuP) Other	~

II. Projects Violating Existing Law

One of the most significant points raised at the environmentalists' meeting with you on water projects is the fact that some water projects in violation of

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existing law are routinely funded by the Congress and the agencies building them are routinely defended by the Justice Department. Further research has indicated serious legal problems with a number of projects, including some of the projects we unsuccessfully attempted to delete from the Budget last year.

In addition, the Administration is in a particularly awkward position on TVA's Tellico Dam -- the Solicitor General's office has appealed the Endangered Species Act lawsuit to the Supreme Court where a decision in favor of TVA could have negative ramifications even beyond the Tellico Dam itself. You may be receiving an options memorandum from Justice on this specific case.

The types of violations and suspected violations of existing laws include:

- curable procedural problems such as lack of wildlife mitigation plans and lack of historical resources surveys;
- substantive problems such as violations of the Endangered Species Act and of water quality laws; and
- problems which could be cured only by further Congressional authorization, such as agencies exceeding authorized cost ceilings or carrying out modifications of projects beyond the scope of existing authorizations.

In addition, it is obvious that many projects violate wetlands and floodplain policies.

A number of water projects are in litigation on these and other points. These include Richard B. Russell (litigation in progress) and Columbia (suit soon to be filed). It should also be noted that some of the projects "passed" by the Administration's review last spring have serious legal problems and are in litigation, such as Tennessee-Tombigbee.

Recommendation:

We would recommend that we confidentially ask the Justice Department to analyze this problem, with the two following goals:

- To provide guidance for the agencies regarding when the Justice Department will or will not defend lawsuits under the relevant statutes, similar to Justice Department guidance on the Freedom of Information Act;
- 2. To provide guidance to the Executive Branch with respect to projects where there is a violation of law for:
 - where possible, curing legal problems to minimize litigation;
 - seeking alternatives or project modifications where needed;
 - making budget decisions in the future; and
 - planning future projects.

We believe this assistance from the Justice Department could be a very positive influence on the agencies, could minimize litigation on projects where the government is clearly in violation of existing laws, and could help us avoid "hit lists" while still providing the basis for changes and in some cases termination of unsound projects.

The request should be confidential and low key.

Decision:

Confid	dentially	request	Justice	e to	analy	ze
water	project	complianc	e with	exis	sting	
statut	tes					

statutes	
Do not pursue	
Other	

III. Assistant Secretary of Army for Civil Works

One other follow-up item from the environmentalists' meeting is the continuing vacancy in the post of Army Assistant Secretary for Civil Works. We agree with the environmentalists that we have been hampered in our ability to pursue new Corps policies partly because of that vacancy. Butler Derrick also feels very strongly that this vacancy should be filled. There is no policy person with authority over the Corps of Engineers who has expertise in the water resources area and who supports your water policy views. Before the decision was made to leave the post vacant, several excellent candidates were under consideration for the job.

You will recall, however, that during the budget session on the Corps, Secretary Alexander stated that there were two reasons for Brown's decision to leave the post vacant:

- You had asked each Department Secretary to cut back on the number of offices and appointments to be filled, and this is part of DOD's response to that request.
- Under the current arrangement, the Corps reports directly to the Secretary of the Army, providing more direct secretarial direction and supervision.

Decision:

Encourage Secretary Brown to fill vacancy (we recommend)	
Do not pursue (Brown's view)	
Other	

December 28, 1977

Stu Eizenstat Jim McIntyre Secretary Schlesinger

The attached was returned in the President's outbox and is forwarded to you for appropriate handling. Stu - Please inform Sec. Blumenthal of the President's decision.

Rick Hutcheson

RE: FOLLOW-UP MATERIALS ON NEP BUDGET IMPLICATIONS MEETING

cc: Frank Moore Charles Schultze

FOR STAFFING

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	П	JORDAN		П	EXECUTIVE ORDER
	П	LIPSHUTZ			Comments due to
		MOORE			Carp/Huron within
		POWELL			48 hours; due to
		WATSON			Staff Secretary
7		McINTYRE			next day
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		HARDEN			SCHNEIDERS
		HUTCHESON			STRAUSS
		JAGODA			VOORDE
Ţ		GAMMILL			WARREN

12/28/77

Mr. President:

Blumenthal & Schlesinger concur. Schultze has no comment.

Rick

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

SUBJECT:

JAMES T. McINTYRE, JR.

STUART EIZENSTAT

Follow-up materials on NEP budget implica-

To Str. Jim

tions meeting

Attached are summary and detailed fiscal year by fiscal year estimates of the House and Senate energy bill tax credit provisions. These estimates were prepared in final form by OMB based on information provided by DOE and Treasury. You requested this information at the December 7, 1977 meeting on NEP legislation. With regard to discussions at that meeting, note that a substantial amount of the tax credits (40% of the total) in the Senate bill fall between FY 78 and FY 81.

The Administration has not taken definitive positions on many of the compromises being discussed by the House/Senate conferees, although Administration officials have suggested that additional producer incentives, such as the world price for new domestic oil and a limited trust fund, may be acceptable elements of a compromise.

In return for these concessions, we should get (1) substantial reductions in Senate bill tax credits (close to those in the House bill) and (2) retain as much as possible of the House bill oil and gas use tax on industry and utilities. If you agree, we need to develop our position on specific tax credits and communicate this poisition to the conferees. Unless the Administration takes a leadership position on these issues, the conferees are likely to ignore the <u>budgetary</u> consequences of a final settlement and send you a bill with an intolerably high price tag. Although you have said that you would veto a bad bill, we should avoid that necessity if at all possible.

Jim Schlesinger, Mike Blumenthal, Frank Moore, Charlie and ourselves could develop a proposal for your review by January 10 or so. We recommend leaving open a discussion on the exact means and timing of communicating our position to the Conference. While we can play a constructive role in ensuring that the conferees are fully aware of the budget impacts of any actions which they might take, determining how this should be communicated will depend on the shape of the proposals and the approach taken by the conferees when they return. Should we proceed?

Develop proposal

1

Wait

JC

Attachments

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Attachment

Summary Comparison of Tax Credits in the Senate and House Energy Bills (\$ in millions)

			(\$ in millions)						Cumulatives			
	PROVISIONS	FY 78	FY 79	FY 80	FY 81	FY 82	FY 83	FY84	FY 85	FY 78-81	FY 78-85	
1.	Residential Tax Credit											
	Senate House Difference	-\$556 -387 -\$169	-\$870 - <u>520</u> -\$350	-\$1,193 -553 -\$640	-\$1,490 -589 -\$901	-\$1,689 -633 -\$1,056	-\$1,415 -687 -\$728	-\$1,374 -748 -\$626	-\$1,471 -710 -\$761	-\$4,109 -2,049 -\$2,060	-\$10,058 -4,827 -\$5,231	
2.	Business Tax Credits and Oil & Gas Use Tax	(Note tha revenues	t certain and tax o	business redits are	tax credit e shown to	ı s are direc provide co	tly relate emplete inf	d to the o ormation.)	il and gas	use tax. N	let tax	
	A. Tax Receipts (Net of Rebate)		***	***	# 23	**	taa .	tca	tol	tro.	#044	
	Senate House Difference	==	-25 +\$25	\$21 398 -\$377	\$31 88 -\$57	\$6 164 -\$158	\$33 592 -\$559	\$62 813 -\$751	\$91 878 -\$787	\$52 461 -\$409	\$244 2,908 -\$2,664	
	B. <u>Tax Credits</u>											
	Senate House (Also, Plus Credits Denied) Difference	-\$1,106 -316 -\$790	-\$1,249 -247 -\$1,002	-\$1,596 -211 -\$1,385	-\$2,007 -321 -\$1,686	-\$2,414 -455 -\$1,959	-\$2,779 -97 -\$2,682	-\$3,062 464 -\$3,526	-\$3,238 502 -\$3,740	-\$5,958 1,095 -\$4,863	-\$17,451 -681 -\$16,770	
	C. Total Business Provisions (Net of Receipts) Senate House Difference	-\$1,106 -316 -\$790	-\$1,249 -272 -\$977	-\$1,575 187 -\$1,762	-\$1,976 -233 -\$1,743	-\$2,408 -291 -\$2,117	-\$2,746 495 -\$3,241	-\$3,000 1,277 -\$4,277	-\$3,147 1,380 -\$4,527	-\$5,906 -634 -\$5,272	-\$17,207 2,227 -\$19,434	
3.	Incentives for Fuel Production	,			, . ,	,		, , , , , ,	, , , , , , ,		,	
	Senate House Difference	-\$33 -9 -\$24	-\$97 -46 -\$51	-\$178 -58 -\$120	-\$268 -68 -\$200	-\$369 -23 -\$296	-\$479 -81 -\$398	-\$587 -102 -\$485	-\$715 -133 -\$582	-\$576 -181 -\$395	-\$2,726 -570 -\$2,156	
4.	Tax Credits for Individuals (Note that House	e bill re	lies on re	bates of	wellhead to	ax revenues	.)					
	Senate House	-\$258	-\$2,668	-\$2,675	-\$2,656	-\$2,639	-\$2,369	-\$1,009	-\$1,016	-\$8,257	-\$15,290	
	Difference	-\$258	-\$2,668	-\$2,675	-\$2,656	-\$2,639	-\$2,369	-\$1,009	-\$1,016	-\$8,257	-\$15,290	
	TOTALS Tax Credits (without receipts) Senate House Difference	-\$1,953 -712 -\$1,241	-\$4,884 -813 -\$4,071	-\$5,642 -822 -\$4,820	-\$6,421 -978 -\$5,443	-\$7,111 -1,111 -\$6,000	-\$7,042 -865 -\$6,177	-\$6,032 -386 -\$5,646	-\$6,440 -341 -\$6,099	-\$18,900 -3,325 -\$15,575	-\$45,525 -6,078 -\$39,447	

Cumulatives

Detailed Tax Credit Provisions Comparison Senate and House Bills

(\$ in millions)

	PROVISIONS	FY 78	FY 79	FY 80	FY 81	FY 82	FY 83	FY 84	FY 85	FY 78-81	FY 78-85
1.	RESIDENTIAL TAX CREDITS Senate for conservation, solar, geo-	-\$556	-\$870	-\$1,193	-\$1,490	-\$1,689	-\$1,415	-\$1,374	-\$1,471	-\$4,109	-\$10,058
	thermal equipment use in House residential dwellings	<u>-387</u>	<u>-520</u>	-553	589	-633	687	<u>-748</u>	<u>-710</u>	-2,049	4,827
	Difference	<u>-\$169</u>	<u>-\$350</u>	\$640	<u>-\$901</u>	<u>-\$1,056</u>		\$626	\$761	<u>-\$2,060</u>	<u>-\$5,231</u>
	Significant items in Senate bill causing increased tax expenditures										
	1) Complete furnace/boiler retrofit	-51	-100	-210	-220	-221	-233	-245	-258	-581	-1,538
:	2) Wood/peat-burning residential equipment	-51	-147	-316	-553	-686	-324	-185	-194	-1,067	-2,456
	3) Clock or other automatic thermostats	-2	-4	-6	∸ 7	-9	-11	-13	-15	-19	-67
	4) Heat pump	-3	-8	-13	-17	-20	-26	-31	-37	-41	-155
	5) Evaporative cooling device	-32	-49	-49	~56	-63	-70	-78	-88	-186	-485
	6) Refundability	-19	-25	-26	-27	-29	-30	-32	-34	-97	-222
	 Other (fluorescent lighting systems, energy usage meters, Guam, Virgin Islands, one-year extension) 	-11	-17	-20	-21	-28	-34	-42	-135	-69	-308

									Cuntare	ICIVES
PROVISIONS	FY 78	FY 79	FY 80	FY 81	FY 82	FY 83	FY 84	FY 85	FY 78-81	FY 78-85
										,
2. Business Tax Credits										
A. Alternative Energy Property (AEP)										

The Alternative Energy Property (AEP) tax credit is directly related to the Oil and Gas Use Tax on Industry and Utilities. The tax, rebates of the tax and tax credits must be considered together in assessing fiscal impacts. Described another way, a given business that pays the tax may elect to have a 100% rebate and/or a tax credit (depending on House or Senate bill) by investing in equipment that does not use oil or gas, but that replaces equipment that uses oil or gas.

•										1 !	4
SENATE Gross Tax Less Rebates for AEP Less Credits Provided for AEP Net Budget Effect	-413 -\$413	-559 -\$559	21 -830 -\$809	39 -8 -1,157 -\$1,126	161 -155 -1,456 -\$1,450	302 -269 -1,687 -\$1,654	466 -404 -1,834 -\$1,772	633 -542 -1,887 -\$1,796	60 -8 -2,959 -\$2,907	1,622 -1,378 -9,823 -\$9,579	
HOUSE Gross Tax Less Rebates for AEP Less Credits Provided for AEP Plus Credits Denied for AEP Net Budget Effect	-23 <u>93</u> \$70	-\$25 -21 168 \$122	\$1,696 -1,298 -32 305 \$671	\$2,774 -2,686 -50 352 \$390	\$3,585 -3,421 -58 334 \$440	\$4,582 -3,990 -34 394 \$952	\$7,464 -6,651 464 \$1,277	\$8,384 -7,506 502 \$1,380	\$4,445 -3,984 -126 918 \$1,253	\$28,460 -25,552 -218 <u>2,612</u> \$5,302 <u>2</u> /	:
DIFFERENCE	-\$483	-\$681	-\$1,480	-\$1,516	-\$1,890	-\$2,606	-\$3,049	-\$3,176	-\$4,160	-\$14,881	
Significant items in Senate bill causing increased tax expenditures											
1) Lower Net Tax After Rebates		25	-377	-57	-158	-559	-751	-787	-409	-2,664	
Senate bill includes many exemptions 2) Higher Tax Credits ° 15% ITC instead of 10% as in House ° Extends to 1/1/86 instead of 1/1/83 ° Makes credit refundable	-390	-538	-798	-1,107	-1,398	-1,653	-1,834	-1,887	-2,833	-9,605	
° Expands eligible equipment 3) Existing Tax Credits 10% ITC not denied	<u>-93</u>	<u>-168</u>	305	<u>-352</u>	334	394	464	-502		-2,612	
° See Footnote 1/ TOTAL DIFFERENCE	<u>-\$483</u>	<u>-\$681</u>	-\$1,480	<u>-\$1,516</u>	<u>-\$1,890</u>	<u>-\$2,606</u>	-\$3,049	<u>-\$3,176</u>	<u>-\$4,160</u>	<u>-\$14,881</u>	

^{1/} House bill denies existing 10% ITC and accelerated depreciation for oil and gas fired equipment and air conditioning. The House bill would also deny existing 10% ITC for alternative energy property if the firm elects to take a rebate of the oil and gas use tax.
2/ Note that under the Administration proposal, the net effect was +\$34.4 billion. The primary reason was a much more comprehensive tax.

(\$ in millions)

Cumulatives											
PROVISIONS	FY 78	FY 79	FY 80	FY 81	FY 82	FY 83	FY 84	FY 85	FY 78-81	FY 78-85]
B. Specially Defined Property					,						
The Senate bill expands the list of eligible equipment, and extends the time frame from 1/1/83 to 1/1/86.											
Senate	-\$486	-\$464	-\$498	-\$536	-\$581	-\$626	-679	-734	-\$1,984	-\$4,604	
House	-224	218	250	<u>-306</u>	<u>-350</u>	-225			-998	1.573	
Difference	<u>-\$262</u>	<u>-\$246</u>	-\$248	<u>-\$230</u>	-\$231	<u>-\$401</u>	-\$679	-\$734	<u>-\$986</u>	<u>-\$3,031</u>	
Significant items in Senate bill over House bill causing higher tax expenditures.											
 Heat exchanger, heat wheel, waste heat boiler 	-78	-77	-62	-22	+3	-140	-386	-407	-239	-1,169	į
2) Electric motors	11	-11	-13	-14	-15	-17	-17	-19	-49	-117	1
3) Fuel cells, turbines, other fuel								İ			
efficient equipment 4) Fluorescent replacement lighting systems	-4	-4	-6	-8	-11	-14	-17	-21	-22	-85	
5) Silicone-controlled rectifier units	-128	-115	-122	-134	-148	-162	-180	-196	-499	-1,185	ľ
6) Heat pumps	-40	-39	-45	-52	-60	-68	-79	-91	-176	-474	

•	(\$ in millions) Cumulatives												
PROVISIONS	FY 78	FY 79	FY 80	FY 81	FY 82	FY 83	FY 84	FY 85	FY 78-81	FY 78+85			
C. Additional Business Property (A 10% existing 10% ITC. The Senate bill e arc furnaces and electric motor vehi	xpands the list	t of eligil	ole equipme	ent by addi	ing shale o	il, transpo	ortation, q	eopressui	eligible for	the :			
Senate	-\$207	-\$226	-\$268	-\$314	-\$377	-\$466	-\$549	-\$617	-\$889	-\$3,024			
House	<u>-162</u>	<u>-1.76</u>	<u>-234</u>	<u>-317</u>	<u>-381</u>	<u>-232</u>			-1,015	<u>-1,502</u>			
Difference	<u>-\$45</u>	<u>-\$50</u>	<u>-\$34</u>	+\$3	_+\$4	- <u>\$23.4</u>	- <u>\$549</u>	- <u>\$617</u>	-\$126	-\$1,522			
Significant items in Senate bill cau increased tax expenditures *	sing				·								
1) Cogeneration property 1/			+6	+16	3	-133	-286	-325	+22	719			
2) Recycling equipment $\underline{1}/$	-3	-3	-3	-4	-4	-25	-50	-54	-13	-146			
3) Insulation, etc. 1/	-11	-13	-9	+1	+8	-42	-132	-141	-32	-339			
4) Shale oil equipment	-3	-10	-17	-24	-30	-37	-44	-57	-54	-222			
5) Transportation equipment	-25	-20	-10						-54	-55			
6) Geopressurized methane equipment	-4	-9	-9	-9	-10	-11	-11	-12	-31	-75			
7) Electric arc furnaces	-12	-14	-18	-19	-21	-23	-26	-28	-63	÷161			

^{1/} Senate bill increases for these items are caused mainly by extension of credit to 1/1/86.

*Note that several minor items have been left out; thus items will not sum to difference between Senate and House bills.

		Cumulatives								
PROVISIONS	FY 78	FY 79	FY 80	FY 81	FY 82	FY 83	FY 84	FY 85	FY 78-81	FY 78-85
3. <u>Incentives for Fuel Production</u>						:				
Senate	-\$9	-\$46	-\$58	-\$68	-\$73	-\$81	-\$102	-\$133	-\$181	-\$570
House	-33	<u>-97</u>	<u>-178</u>	-268	-369	<u>-479</u>	-587	<u>-715</u>	576	-2,726
Difference	-\$22	<u>-\$51</u>	<u>-\$120</u>	<u>-\$200</u>	-\$296	<u>-\$398</u>	-\$485	-\$582	<u>-\$395</u>	<u>-\$2,156</u>
Significant items in the Senate bill causing increased tax expenditures (not in House bill) *										
 Production Credits for: 011 Shale (\$3/bb1) Geopressurized methane (50¢/mcf) Gas from tight rock formations (50¢/mcf) 	-4	-19	-39 -7 -29	-60 -14 -58	-82 -22 -90	-104 -31 -124	-126 -40 -154	-150 -52 -194	-\$122 -21 -87	-584 -166 -649
 Other credits for geopressurized methane. Includes 10% depletion and expensing of intangible drilling costs. 	-9	-16	-18	-21	-25	-28	-31	-37	-64	-185
 3) Industrial Development Bonds for New Sources ° Coal gasification/liquefaction ° Bioconversion ° Local furnishing of electricity 	-1 -2	-3 -10	-7 -20	-2 -12 -33	-7 -18 -44	-17 -25 -55	-27 -34 -63	-39 -45 -68	-2 -23 -65	-92 -145 -295

^{*} Note that several minor items have been left out; thus items will not sum to difference between Senate and House bills.

		(\$ in millions)										
	PROVISIONS	FY 78	FY 79	FY 80	FY 81	FY 82	FY 83	FY 84	FY 85	FY 78-81	FY 78-85	
4.	Tax Credits for Individuals											
	Senate	-\$258	-\$2,668	-\$2,675	-\$2,656	-\$2,639	-\$2,369	-\$1,009	-\$1,016	-\$8,257	-\$15,290	
	House	wellhea Implici	d tax (\$5,	1978 well!	heating rebate of the wellhead tax revenues. cifics of how it will							
	Difference	- <u>\$258</u>	- <u>\$2,668</u>	- <u>\$2,675</u>	- <u>\$2,656</u>	- <u>\$2,639</u>	- <u>\$2,369</u>	- <u>\$1,009</u>	- <u>\$1,016</u>	- <u>\$8,257</u>	- <u>\$15,290</u>	
	Significant items in Senate bill causing increased tax expenditures											
	 25% credit for home heating oil and propane 	-252	-1,679	-1,683	-1,660	-1,640	-1,365			-5,274	-8,279	
	Tax credit for increased home- heating due to import price increases	-6	-37	-40	-44	-46	-50	-52	57	-127	-332	
	 \$75 tax credit for any taxpayer who maintains a household which includes some one aged 65 or over, phased out between adjusted gross incomes of \$7,500 and \$12,000 		-952	-952	-952	-953	-954	-957	-959	-2,856	-6,679	

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
December 28, 1977

Charles Schultze

The attached was returned in the President's outbox today and is forwarded to you for appropriate handling. Please distribute among the staff as appropriate.

Rick Hutcheson

RE: PROGRESS TOWARD BUDGET BALANCE AND WHAT WE SAY ABOUT IT

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL







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THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS WASHINGTON

December 27, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

Charlie Schultze (L)

SUBJECT:

Progress toward budget balance and what we

say about it

The attached memorandum on the 1981 balanced budget reflects the unanimous views of your economic advisers -- Blumenthal, Eizenstat, Schultze, and McIntyre. It reflects extensive discussion of the problem among us. Dick Cooper has not seen the memo itself, but was a participant in the discussions and fully agrees with the conclusions.

(I have kept this cover note and the memo separate for security reasons).

Attachment

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Charles fand of the also
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balancing

Balancing the Budget in 1981

The Administration's position on balancing the budget in fiscal 1981, while also achieving high employment, is becoming increasingly difficult to defend and rationalize. Public confidence in the realism and consistency of the Administration's economic program would be strengthened by deferring the commitment to budget balance beyond 1981, while retaining it as an ultimate objective. This memorandum:

- (i) sets forth the reasons why achieving a balanced budget in 1981 appears highly unlikely; and
- (ii) suggests how we might deal with that fact, while still preserving both the reality and the image of fiscal prudence and budgetary discipline.

Background

Presentations to you on the longer-term outlook for the economy and the budget have stressed the two-way relation between economic performance and budgetary results. Balancing the budget in 1981 is possible -- if we are prepared to accept economic results that are far short of our stated goals. Achieving a high-employment economy in 1981 is also possible, if we are prepared to undertake additional fiscal actions that will result in a 1981 budget deficit. The question at issue is whether the two goals can be achieved simultaneously in that year.

The Problem

We have always recognized that keeping the economy on the track to high-employment levels by 1981, and eliminating the deficit by that time, would be very difficult. However, several economic developments during 1977 have substantially reduced the chances of achieving high employment and a balanced budget in 1981.

- Our energy imports have grown more rapidly than forecast, thereby adding an important "drag" to the economy.
- o The growth of U.S. exports has been slow because economic activity abroad has been more sluggish than had been anticipated at the beginning of the year. Slack in the economies of our major trading

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partners is likely to be with us for some time.

o The aggregate surplus in the budgets of state and local governments has increased substantially more than had been expected, despite continued fiscal distress in some major cities. In the third quarter state and local governments in total had an annual rate of surplus of \$33 billion -- \$12 billion higher than a year earlier. We do not look for the surpluses to continue at this level, but they will remain high, in part because a large fraction represents growing accumulations in state and local employee pension funds.

The combination of state and local surpluses and current account imbalances in our foreign trade will, on conservative estimates, amount to \$40 billion in 1981. That \$40 billion will be a drag on the economy which has to be counteracted either by an extraordinarily good performance of private consumption and investment, or by continued Federal stimulus, principally via additional tax cuts in 1980 or 1981.

While we cannot forecast with precision the course of the economy between now and 1981, we can estimate the required growth of private investment needed to achieve a high-employment economy with a balanced budget in 1981. Given the developments with respect to state and local surpluses and the foreign trade sector outlined above, and assuming that the personal savings rate does not rise above 6 percent:

- o Growth of private investment (adjusted for inflation) at or slightly above a 10 percent annual rate between 1977 and 1981 would be needed to reduce the unemployment rate to 5 percent, and simultaneously achieve a balanced budget in 1981. The chances of sustaining such a high growth rate are very slim.
- o If private investment grows at an 8 percent annual rate -- a healthy rate, but one that is more in line with reasonable expectations -- economic growth would slow unless there were additional tax cuts a year or two from now. By not making those cuts, we could achieve a balanced budget in 1981,

but at an unemployment rate of around 5-3/4 percent. Unemployment would be rising and we would, in all likelihood, have another budget deficit in 1982.

The difference between a 5 percent unemployment rate and a 5-3/4 percent rate translates into roughly a million lost jobs (taking account of the discouraged workers who would reenter the labor force in a strongly growing economy).

Quite apart from detailed economic calculations, there is the sheer problem of arithmetic. The budget deficits for the four fiscal years 1976 through 1979 will follow the following pattern:

FY:	<u>1976</u>	<u>1977</u>	<u> 1978</u>	1979
	-66	- 4 5	-63	-64

After this history, it will be difficult to convince a skeptical public that the budget deficit can be reduced by \$60 billion in two years without slowing down the recovery.

In our judgment, an economic performance that would produce both a balanced budget and a high-employment economy in 1981 (5 percent unemployment) is exceedingly unlikely. The difficulty is not that outlays cannot be contained, but rather than collecting taxes sufficient to balance the budget by 1981 would damage the economy.

Published Projections in the 1979 Budget Document.

In the January Budget Document, we will publish a forecast of economic performance in 1978 and 1979, and the budgetary results implied by the forecast. We will also publish projections of the economy and the budget for the years 1980 to 1983. The economic projections will assume that the economy grows along a high-employment track, while the budgetary figures assume no further tax reductions after the proposed \$25 billion cut next year. The budgetary outcome that corresponds to those assumptions will show the budget moving into a small surplus in fiscal 1981. A rough approximation of how the numbers may come out is shown in Table 1.

The issue is not what numbers are published. There is no need for us to show budget numbers that incorporate further tax reductions or other fiscal stimulus after next year, since those decisions have not been made. But what we say about the numbers is a major issue. If we continue to maintain

Table 1

Essentia Assumptions for the 1070 Budget

Economic	Assumpt	ions	for	the	1979	Budget
(Calendar	years,	dolla	r an	ount	s in	billions)

	1978	1979	<u>1980</u>	<u>1981</u>	1982	1983
Real GNP growth (fourth quarter to fourth quarter)	4.7	4.7	5.0	5.0	4.5	4.0
Unemployment rate (%) Annual average Fourth quarter	6.6	6.2 6.0	5.6 5.4	5.0	4.5 4.4	4.1
	(Fisc	Bude al years	get Bala , billio		llars)	
	1978	1979	1980	<u>1981</u>	1982	1983
	-63	-64	-35	15	4.9	78

that a balanced budget and high-employment can both be achieved in 1981, we are likely to have major credibility problems.

- o The Congressional Budget Office has published analyses which conclude that simultaneous achievement of these goals is virtually impossible, and their work has received widespread attention. Other reputable economic research organizations, like Data Resources, Inc. (DRI), have come to the same conclusion.
- o Your economic advisers will almost certainly be subject to intense questioning on this issue in Congressional testimony in late January and early February. We can, of course, indicate the kind of private economic performance which would make it possible to balance the budget and simultaneously achieve satisfactory unemployment levels. But we would lose credibility by maintaining that such a performance is likely.
- o Loss of credibility would occur not only among professional economists but also among knowledgeable businessmen and many members of the Congress. It is very important that we be seen by these groups to be planning our budgetary and economic policies consistently and realistically.

Recommended Administration Position

We believe the time has come to acknowledge candidly that a balanced budget in 1981 is unlikely to be achieved, if we are to reach our economic objectives. We can and should still maintain budget balance as a goal, but at a later date, as economic circumstances permit. The Administration position on the issue would stress that:

- 1. We put top priority on three goals: lowering unemployment, fighting inflation, and controlling Federal expenditures.
- 2. We plan to reduce the share of Federal spending in GNP. Federal taxes can then be used as an economic "regulator" or "governor" which -- while holding Federal spending to strict accountability -- would allow for the appropriate amount of fiscal stimulus in order to meet our economic goals.

- 3. We will maintain strict discipline over expenditures. But reaching an actual balance in the Federal budget by 1981 would require that we forego any further tax reductions after the one proposed this year. It is unlikely that stable economic recovery and gradual reductions in unemployment could be maintained for the next four years without a tax cut. Economic conditions at home and abroad make it more difficult for the United States to have both a balanced budget and high employment by 1981.
- 4. We believe that prudent fiscal policy requires a substantial decline in the Federal budget deficit after 1979, and progress towards balance as we approach high employment. But -- actual balance may have to be deferred beyond 1981.

Advantages and Disadvantages

Following the course of action we recommend will have the following advantages:

- o The Administration's credibility about the reality of its economic program will be substantially strengthened.
- o Confidence in the prospects for continued recovery will grow.
- o Some of your principal constituency groups -- labor, blacks, and liberal Democrats generally -- will be pleased to see the Administration putting greater priority on economic goals.

There are some disadvantages to be considered:

- o Extreme conservatives will criticize any backing away from the commitment to a balanced budget in 1981. (People generally want you to work towards a balanced budget; but they are not concerned about achieving it in a given year.)
- o Some finance ministers and central bankers abroad are likely to be critical.

o There might be some adverse reaction in both the foreign exchange markets and perhaps the stock market. (We believe it would be short-lived, and replaced by a growing sense of confidence in our economic realism, particularly if we continue to stress our desire to eventually reach that goal.)

Format for Developing a New Administration Position

As you know, we are planning to put out this year a separate Economic Report of the President (in addition to the usual Annual Report of the Council of Economic Advisers to the President) that lays out in detail the Administration's long-run economic strategy. That statement would be a convenient vehicle for setting forth and explaining the Administration's position on this issue. A similar statement would also appear in the Budget Message.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

J

27 December 1977

TO:

THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

RICK HUTCHESON K

SUBJECT:

Memos Not Submitted

- SAM BROWN MEMO on ACTION's FY '79 budget. The letter
 (1) acknowledges agreement to the decisions on the budget;
 (2) alerts the President to the potential political problems ACTION and the Administration may face in defending reductions to the Retired Senior Volunteer Program (RSVP), phase out of the University Year for ACTION (UYA), and the current service proposal for the Senior Companions; and (3) solicits the President's support for "achieving a better Peace Corps preparatory to a bigger Peace Corps."
- 2. SEN. HUBERT HUMPHREY sent you a letter and packet of information on a possible new energy source, "Humatec." Frank Moore will acknowledge. The documents will be referred to DoE for analysis.

Electrostatic Copy Made for Preservation Purposes

THE WHITE HOUSE

28 December 1977

TO:

SECRETARY SCHLESINGER

FROM:

RICK HUTCHESON

SUBJECT:

Attached Material from Senator

Humphrey on a Possible New Energy Source

The President has asked that DoE analyze the attached material from Senator Humphrey and then report to him. This request will be included in my "tickler file" until completed.

cc: Frank Moore

Bill Simon

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

December 21, 1977

SUI ENOZ

TO P CONGRESSIONAL LIAISON

DEC 23 1977

The President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

You may recall my conversation with you at Camp David concerning a possible new source of energy and fuel. Rather than trying to describe the whole process and what has been done about it, I am sharing with you the papers presented to me by our energy specialist on the Joint Economic Committee. I do hope you will read it. If the preliminary report proves to be solid, then a real breakthrough has been made.

You will note that contact has been made with Dr. Schlesinger and DOE is already involved, but apparently there is a need of a pilot plan which will call for some Federal assistance.

The attached documents are self-explanatory, and I truly believe they merit your attention.

A final note -- thank you, thank you, Mr. President, for that wonderful weekend at Camp David. You have my full and complete confidence and my devotion to your success as our President. May this Christmas Season and the coming New Year start to bring to fruition the many good things you have in store for "We The People".

With admiration and friendship.

Respectfully,

Hubert H. Humphre





December 20,1977

The President
The White House

Dear Mr. President:

We accept the current agreements with regard to ACTION's FY '79 budget. However, I would like to make certain you are aware of the public impact of the reductions of three programs.

First, the reduction in the Retired Senior Volunteer Program (RSVP) raises a serious consideration. Unlike some government reductions which will mean a lower level of benefits or potential benefits for all participants, the \$4 million reduction in RSVP will result in the elimination of programs for approximately 40,000 older American volunteers. Although the direction of this program has in the past appeared weak and diffused, it is a popular and potentially highly beneficial program of citizen involvement. Because of this latter point, it is important to assure you that RSVP will survive and can have new direction at the level provided, but I wanted you to realize that because of its popularity and the fact that it is already one of the lowest cost programs receiving Federal support, there will be many who will find the argument of a qualitative improvement difficult to understand.

Secondly, the <u>Senior Companion Program</u>, another of our Older American Volunteer Programs, may in the future merit reconsideration. In concept and design it is a program of significant social value for both the participants and beneficiaries. Again the potential cost to expand this program is small.

Thirdly, the University Year in ACTION (UYA) program, which we have agreed to terminate, has a very strong following among liberals as well as conservatives in the education community in addition to members of Congress, all of whom believe that it provides a unique opportunity for students to expand their horizons beyond the classroom and into the community, bringing the resources of the university into the low-income community. It was, in fact, UYA volunteers who were living at the site you visited in the South Bronx, where they were providing design support to the community group attempting to rebuild that neighborhood. I believe this program provides substantial benefits at small costs and expect that the Congress will have a strong interest in the continuation of this program.

On the other hand, I believe the programs of our Agency can take on new life and new quality as a result of the FY '79 budget decisions which have been reached. The increase in the size of VISTA affords a real opportunity to reorient, reestablish, and reinvigorate this program which gives reality to the best spirit of the American people.

The decision to achieve a better Peace Corps, preparatory to a bigger Peace Corps, will need your personal assistance in interpretation to the American people. Despite its ups and downs, no program has enjoyed the level of public esteem which Peace Corps has sustained. However, many will interpret your support for Peace Corps solely on the basis of numbers of volunteers. You will, therefore, have to assist us in making the argument that your interest is first in quality, in preparation for later expansion.

Clearly, there are many high priority items demanding your attention this week. The constraints of your budget objectives are severe, and the dollars involved here are small in comparison to the other major decisions which are before you. I did, however, want to inform you of the impact of these cuts, and the difficult consequences of the decisions for reduction.

Sincerely

Sam Brown

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Date: Dece	ember 20, 197	7 MEMORANDUM
FOR ACTION:		FOR INFORMATION:
Jim McIntyre		Stu Eizenstat
		·
FROM: Rick Hutches	on Staff Socretory	
	•	
SUBJECT: Sam Br	own memo date	ed 12/20/77 re ACTION's 79 Budget
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		SE MUST BE DELIVERED SECRETARY BY:
	TIME:	12:00 Noon
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	DATE:	December 22, 1977
ACTION REQUESTE		
xYou Other:	ır comments	
Oulei .		
STAFF RESPONSE:		No source and
Please note other com	ncur. Iments helow	No comment.

PLEASE ATTACH THIS COPY TO MATERIAL SUBMITTED.

If you have any questions or if you anticipate a delay in submitting the required material, please telephone the Staff Secretary immediately. (Telephone, 7052)

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

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EXECUTIVE ORDER
Comments due to
Carp/Huron within
48 hours; due to
Staff Secretary
next day

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H. CARTER
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THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

Survay

Date: December 20, 1977 **MEMORANDUM** FOR ACTION: FOR INFORMATION: Jim McIntyre Stu Eizenstat FROM: Rick Hutcheson, Staff Secretary SUBJECT: Sam Brown memo dated 12/20/77 re ACTION'S 79 Budget YOUR RESPONSE MUST BE DELIVERED TO THE STAFF SECRETARY BY: TIME: 12:00 Noon 7. ET ... DAY: Thursday DATE: December 22, 1977 ACTION REQUESTED: XYour comments Other:

STAFF RESPONSE:

Real France

 No comment.

PLEASE ATTACH THIS COPY TO MATERIAL SUBMITTED.

If you have any questions or if you anticipate a delay in submitting the required material, please telephone the Staff Secretary immediately. (Telephone, 7052)

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

December 23, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR: RICK HUTCHESON

THROUGH: W. Bowman Culter

FROM: Sue Woolsey

SUBJECT: ACTION's letter to the President on its

FY 1979 Budget

The purpose of Sam Brown's letter to the President appears to be three-fold. First, to acknowledge agreement to the decisions on ACTION's 1979 budget. Second, to alert the President to the potential political problems ACTION and the Administration may face in defending reductions to the Retired Senior Volunteer Program (RSVP), phase out of University Year for ACTION (UYA), and the current service proposal for the Senior Companions. Third, to solicit the President's support for the Peace Corps.

With regard to the second issue, OMB recognizes the popularity of these programs. However, ACTION should be able to defend the RSVP reduction on the basis that many of these projects duplicate services already provided by the private sector and which should be provided anyway. ACTION can also cite the severe criticism and recommendations of its Citizen's Review panel when it discusses RSVP on the hill. The principal point OMB has stressed is that although there will be a slight reduction in Federal expenditures and some reduction in benefits received, the actual number of volunteers will probably not be reduced. The Senior Companions program was not reduced, as ACTION implies, but held at its current Increased funding for this program was not recommended since the agency could not define how its volunteers could obtain the expertise to become advocates for their clients, a shift in program direction which could jeopardize a popular program. ACTION can also stress its efforts to encourage States to adopt similar programs as justification for a current level budget. The University Year for ACTION was not a high priority program (minimum level ranked 23 of 29), and was criticized by ACTION's Citizen Review for not providing opportunities for minority youth. ACTION can defend the phase out of UYA on the grounds that since most UYA programs are apparently not of sufficient interest to colleges and universities that the institutions incorporate them in their curriculum, Federal resources should not continue to go toward UYA support.

With regard to the Peace Corps, we have agreed with ACTION to increase quality through training. However, we have made no commitment to expansion since plans to accomplish Peace Corps' new program directions are still in the formation stages. We would caution the President against committing himself to an expansion of the Peace Corps without concrete plans from ACTION.

MAJOR DECISION ELEMENTS

Size of tax package

A. \$29-\$30 billion; (FY 1979 deficit \$64 to \$66)

20.0 individual
6.0-6.9 corporate
1.5 telephone excise
0.8 airline ticket tax from 8% to 2%
0.8 reduce federal U.I. tax

\$240 credit 12 to 68 percent tax rates no deduction for lesser earning spouses

B. \$23.5 - \$24.5 billion; (FY 1979 deficit \$60 to \$62)

14.5	individual	14.5
6.0-6.9	corporate	9
1.5	telephone excise	. 8
0.8	airline ticket tax	
0.8	federal U.I. tax	18.2

\$250 credit

12 to 68 percent tax rates, but lower reductions in the \$16,000 to \$36,000 income range than the large package. second earner deduction of 10%/\$3000

2. Business tax reductions

A. Treasury favors:

- (i) corporate rate cut: 3% 1978;1979
 4% 1980 and thereafter
- (ii) liberalize investment
 tax credit, but keep it
 at 10%

CY 1979 cost \$6 billion

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B. CEA favors:

(i) corporate rate cut:

2% 1978, 1979

3% 1980 and thereafter

- (ii) liberalize ITC
- (iii) raise ITC to 12%

CY 1979 cost \$7 billion

- 3. Major reform elements still at issue (all revenue estimates are full year effects at 1976 incomes)
 - A. Employer group paid legal insurance + 40 million
 - B. Disallow business entertainment deductions for theatre and sporting tickets fully or by 50 percent
 - C. Deferral at a 45% corporate tax rate +375 million
 - D. Raise minimum tax to 20%
 - (i) include capital gains
 - (ii) exclude capital gains

(iii) do not propose

4. Timing of tax reduction

July 1 vs. October 1 1978

- Anti-inflation program
 - o The major decision needed immediately is whether or not to project lower inflation rates on the assumption that the program is successful:

inflation rate:	1978	1979	1980
as now forecast with success	6.3	6.4	6.7
	5.9	5.6	5.3

o OMB needs our economic projections very shortly, to make the budget consistent. Lower inflation rates add to the deficit, since revenues are affected by more than expenditures. Using the lower rates would add the following to the deficit.

FY	1979	1980	1981	
	\$ 1	\$ 4	\$ 3 bi	llion

THE PACKAGE 2 TAX CUT AND PROJECTED DEFICIT IN PERSPECTIVE

1. Relative to the size of the economy, the proposed Package 2 tax cut is approximately 60 percent of the size of the 1965 tax cuts.

•	Tax Cut	GNP	Cut % GNP
1965	\$15.2 b.	\$688 b.	2.2%
1979	\$30 b.	\$2342 b.	1.3%

Although the proposed cut is nearly twice as big as the earlier cut, the economy has nearly quadrupled in size.

2. The state-local government sector and the foreign sector are currently exerting a tremendous drag on the economy. In 1965, these sectors provided net stimulus.

	State-local government stimulus	Foreign trade stimulus	Total	Total % GNP
1965	0	\$4.3 b.	\$4.3 b.	0.6%
1979	-\$21.5 b.	-\$25.0 b.	-\$46.5 b.	-2.1%

3. The economy is in the process of recovering from a far deeper recession than in the mid-sixties. In 1964, the unemployment rate was at the level which it is hoped the current stimulus will achieve in 1981.

	1964	<u> 1965</u>	1978	1979
Unemployment rate	5.2%	4.5%	6.6%	6.1%

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

28 December 1977

TO:

STU EIZENSTAT

FROM:

RICK HUTCHESON / (3

SUBJECT:

Blumenthal Memo dated 12/22 re:

Refundable Tax Credits

Rather than going to the President, Secretary Blumenthal's memo is returned to you for inclusion in the energy Conference options memo you are working on with OMB, CEA, Frank Moore, Treasury and DOE, to be completed by the time the President returns from abroad. The President concurs.

cc: Jim McIntyre Frank Moore

Charlie Schultze

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

28 DECEMBER 1977

TO:

THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

RICK HUTCHESON

SUBJECT:

Memos Not Submitted

1. SECRETARY BLUMENTHAL sent you a memo making a number of arguments against any Administration support for refundable tax credits in the energy legislation. Stu Eizenstat, Jim McIntyre, and Frank Moore all suggest that this issue be considered in the context of the entire energy tax package coming out of the Conference. DPS, OMB, DOE, Treasury, CEA and others will be working on a full set of options for resolving the remaining issues in the Conference, to be ready on your return from abroad.

With your permission, I'll refer Blumenthal's memo back to that group for inclusion in the overall package.

> Electrostatic Copy Made for Preservation Purposes

THE WHITE HOUSE

ORIGINAL

Date: December 23, 1977

MEMORANDUM

FOR ACTION:

Stu Eizerstat Frank Moore whom Jim McIntyre alaum

Chartie Schultze count by plants

FOR INFORMATION:

Vice President Jack Watson Zbig Brzezinski

FROM Rick Hutcheson, Staff Secretary

SUBJECT:

Blumenthal memo date 12/22 re Refundable Tax Credits in the Energy Bills

YOUR RESPONSE MUST BE DELIVERED TO THE STAFF SECRETARY BY:

TIME: 12:00 noon

DAY: Tuesday

DATE: December 27

ACTION REQUESTED:

X Your comments

Other:

STARF RESPONSE:

____l concur.

Please note other comments below:

No comment.

PLEASE ATTACH THIS COPY TO MATERIAL SUBMITTED.

If you have any questions or if you anticipate a delay in submitting the required



THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY WASHINGTON

December 22, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Refundable Tax Credits in the Energy Bills

At our meeting the other day on the energy bills, Jim Schlesinger raised the possibility of accepting "refundable" tax credits in order to promote energy savings. "Refundability" of a tax credit means that a claimant receives a cash payment from the Internal Revenue Service for the amount of the credit in excess of his tax liability. This is true even if the claimant is wholly tax exempt, such as a municipally owned utility in the case of an energy credit. I indicated at that time that the issue of refundability was a very serious one for the Treasury, and that further discussion of this issue was essential.

The analysis that follows attempts to put the issue of refundability in proper perspective and to analyze its consequences.

Background

As the conference on the energy bill has proceeded, it has become increasingly likely that a strong user tax -- and the energy savings it represents -- will not be adopted. In this context, there has been some indication that Senator Long wants to take back from the conference at least one refundable tax credit, however circumscribed. Some discussion has centered about a refundable credit limited to utilities for coal conversion investments. DOE has suggested that a 15 percent refundable coal conversion credit would produce energy savings comparable to those that a strong user tax would produce and hence should be accepted.

The prospect of making tax credits, especially the investment tax credit, refundable is a watershed tax policy issue. The issue has been raised persistently since the adoption of the investment tax credit in 1962.

Only one significant tax credit -- the earned income credit adopted in 1975 -- has ever been made refundable.

The earned income credit is available only to the lowest income levels, and is not generally considered a precedent for making other tax credits refundable because it merely acts as a refund of actual taxes paid -- albeit, Social Security taxes -- by a low income earner.

Issues Relating to Refundable Tax Credits

Refundable tax credits raise important issues not only for our tax system, but also for the administration of government.

- There is no realistic possibility of confining refundability to energy tax credits. That is why Senator Long is willing to accept a narrowly circumscribed refundable credit: the foot-in-the-door consequence is sufficient. Senator Long has been a leading advocate of refundable tax credits for many years. His target is the investment tax credit in the context of our tax reform proposals next year, and on this issue he is joined by Senator Kennedy. It may be expected that refundability will be advocated as essential for educational development, economic stimulus, and so on. Therefore, if the Administration accepts any refundability provision in the energy bill, the Administration must be prepared to accept refundability elsewhere.
- Refundability poses sensitive jurisdictional problems for the Congress. Refundability reduces budget control by eliminating the appropriations and authorization process that accompanies ordinary Federal programs. Refundable credits are viewed as a means by which the tax-writing committees may independently fund programs without approval by substantive committees. As a result, the Congressional budget and appropriations committees have serious misgivings about refundable tax credits.
- Refundability could result in placing the administration of a wide variety of programs in the IRS rather than the agency having primary expertise.
- Refundability will increase the number of programs that will persist year after year without substantial review or budgetary control by OMB and the Congress.

- Even if it were possible to accept a refundable tax credit under some circumstances, it would be necessary to include an adjustment in the taxpayer's basis so that he would only be able to depreciate the portion of the investment which he pays for, and not the Governmentfunded portion. There is a question whether the proper basis adjustment could be made a part of any compromise at this time.
- Acceptance of refundability requires full consideration of the cost. This is discussed below.
- The impetus for accepting refundability at this time is predicated on substantial energy savings. Our analysis indicates that there is substantial uncertainty as to whether a refundable tax credit on coal conversion equipment will lead to great energy savings.

Cost of Refundable Tax Credits

We believe that refundability cannot be accepted without acknowledging the enormous budgetary impact of refundable tax credits.

- Refundability of the <u>current</u> investment tax credit as proposed by Senators Long and Kennedy — would cost \$13.9 billion cumulative from 1977 to 1982 and even more if the credit is liberalized in the tax program.
- Refundability of the <u>additional</u> investment credit under our tax reform proposal (extending the credit to industrial and utility structures and allowing the credit to offset 90 percent of tax liability) would cost another \$0.6 billion cumulative through 1982.
- A refundable investment credit with a basis adjustment would take away revenue from successful businesses (unless the percentage rate were sharply increased) and subsidize many inefficient businesses. It would put many taxpayers with large income in a position paying no tax, and even receiving cash subsidies from the government.
- The investment tax credit would have to be increased to 14 percent to compensate those businesses adversely affected by the basis adjustment. This, in itself, would cost another \$7.5 billion per year.

- A 15 percent refundable coal conversion credit without basis adjustment in the energy bill through fiscal 1985 would cost \$3.1 billion more than the 10 percent nonrefundable credit which we prefer, and \$1.5 billion more than a 15 percent nonrefundable credit which we could live with.
- of the business and individual energy tax credits were made refundable, the additional cost of refundability between 1978 and 1985 would be at least \$9 billion.

Energy Savings

The issue of making tax credits refundable has been raised at this time principally because it is believed that substantial energy savings could be derived from a narrowly-drawn refundable energy credit. DOE reports that an additional 300,000 to 450,000 barrels per day oil imports could be saved if a 15 percent additional investment tax credit were adopted for conversion from oil or gas to coal in place of a 10 percent additional tax credit. According to DOE, the import savings would be:

- 300,000 barrels per day if the 15 percent credit were not refundable, or
- ° 450,000 barrels per day if the 15 percent credit were refundable.

Our staff has discussed with DOE the imprecision of the energy saving estimates on going from a 10 percent to a 15 percent credit. But, even accepting DOE estimates, the 150,000 barrels per day saving from refundability does not seem worth the problems assumed by acquiescing in refundability.

Recommendation

In view of the foregoing, I strongly urge you to oppose refundability in all the energy tax credits.

W. Michael Blumenthal

Date: December 23, 1977

MEMORANDUM

FOR ACTION:

Stu-Elzedstat
Frank Moore
Jim McIntyre
Charlie Schultze
Secretary Schlesinger

FOR INFORMATION:

Vice President
Jack Watson
Zbig Brzezinski

FROM: Rick Hutcheson, Staff Secretary

SUBJECT

Blumenthal memo date 12/22 re Refundable Tax Credits in the Energy Bills

YOUR RESPONSE MUST BE DELIVERED TO THE STAFF SECRETARY BY:

TIME: 12:00 noon

DAY: Tuesday

DATE: December 27

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X Your comments

Other

STAEF RESPONSE:

__l concur

Plome note other comments helow.

No comment...

CONGRESSIONAL LIAISON:

This issue must be looked at in the context of the entire energy tax package that comes out of the Conference, not simply as one of refundability. For now it's OK to take a hard line, but be prepared to compromise.



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

DEC 27 1977

MF	M	١R	Δ٨	וחו	IM	l F	ΩR

THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

JIM McINTYRE

SUBJECT:

Mike Blumenthal's memo on Refundable Tax

Credits in the Energy Bills

I strongly agree with Mike's recommendation in opposition to the tax refundable provisions of the Senate bill. In addition to the arguments raised in the Treasury memo, I'd again like to point out that the Senate bill will cost \$67 billion over FY 78-85. Refundable tax credits are just one of the contributors to this major adverse budget impact. For this reason, I believe we not only need to develop a position on refundable tax credits, but as well on the other remaining major provisions of the bill. In my judgment, dealing with items such as these on a piecemeal basis could well lead to an overall solution that is more costly than we should permit. I therefore urge that we develop a comprehensive set of positions on the remaining provisions of the energy bill not yet agreed to by the conferees.

Agree	//		
Disagree			
See me	/ /		

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 27, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM

STU EIZENSTAT

KITTY SCHIRMER

SUBJECT

BLUMENTHAL MEMO DATED 12/22 ON REFUNDABLE

TAX CREDITS IN THE ENERGY BILL

The Blumenthal memorandum makes a number of strong arguments, both substantive and precedential, against any Administration support for refundable tax credits in the energy legislation. He is absolutely correct about Senator Long's interest in obtaining a "foot-in-the-door" precedent for refundability. He is also correct in stating that refundability is a major tax policy issue with possible consequences including (a) very large budgetary costs if extended to the investment tax credit and (b) the Federal government actually having to make cash payments to high income individuals and firms.

The Senate Finance Committee energy bill contains 7 refundable tax credits. It is clear that Long insisted on taking a number of these credits to Conference (some of which have relatively minor energy savings) in hopes of bringing at least one of them back from Conference. While we share some of the concerns which Blumenthal raises and would certainly prefer to avoid refundable credits, one refundable tax credit may be the price of In addition, getting energy legislation out of Conference. Schlesinger's staff has indicated that the oil savings from a compromise on oil and gas user tax will be substantially diminished unless refundability is part of the compromise. As you remember, the oil and gas user tax counted for a substantial portion of the oil savings achievable under your proposal and under the House bill.

While we do not believe that it would be appropriate for the Administration to support any of the refundable tax credits at this point, neither do we believe that you can afford to close the door completely on refundability, especially if this is part of the ultimate price of a bill.

Over the next ten days we, OMB, Schlesinger's staff, Treasury, CEA and others will be working on a full set of options for resolution of the remaining issues in Conference. This will be ready for your review when you return from your trip. The refundability issue will come up again in that context, and we would urge that you not make a final or public decision on this issue until then.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM

Date: December 23, 1977

FOR ACTION:

Stu-Eizenstat Frank Moore Jim McIntyre Charkie Schultze Secretary Schlesinger

FOR INFORMATION:

Vice President Jack Watson Zbig Brzezinski

FROM Rick Hutcheson, Staff Secretary

SUBJECT

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Other =

STAFF RESPONSE:

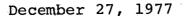
____ I concur.

Please note other comments below:

No comment.

PLEASE ATTACH THIS COPY TO MATERIAL SUBMITTED.

If you have any questions or if you anticipate a delay in submitting the required





Department of Energy Washington, D.C. 20585

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

JIM SCHLESINGER



SUBJECT:

Refundable Tax Credits in the Energy Bill

Mike Blumenthal argues that refundable tax credits would create a bad precedent for tax policy. Although it is difficult for me to dispute his observations as to the precedent that would be created, I think we should give very serious consideration to a refundable tax credit for utility conversions to coal and nuclear energy. If the Administration did support refundable tax credits for utility conversions, the point could be made that this credit represents an unusual situation that should not act as a precedent for refundable tax credits in other areas.

As Mike Blumenthal's memo indicates, the oil savings for a refundable tax credit are about 150,000 barrels a day greater than without the refundability feature. The revenue loss between now and 1985 would only be \$1.3 billion. Hence, on the basis of oil savings, the refundable tax credit would make sense, particularly in light of the fairly weak oil and gas user tax which we expect to be enacted for utilities.

If you decide not to support a refundable tax credit because of the precedent it would create, I recommend the following:

- that the Administration support the 15 percent investment tax credit level for utilities rather than 10 percent; and
- that we look for further tax credits to boost savings in the utility sector, such as accelerated amortization.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

December 27, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR:

RICK HUTCHESON

FROM:

TTM DEAT. ${\cal U}$

SUBJECT:

Refundable Tax Credits in the Energy Bill

From a foreign policy standpoint, the NSC staff strongly supports measures that will reduce our dependence on imported oil. Refundable tax credits would undoubtedly result in some energy savings. But, we find Mike Blumenthal's arguments about the adverse impact of such credits on the administration of US tax policy convincing, and, therefore, concur with his recommendation that the Administration oppose any refundability in the energy bill.

on bill

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

December 28, 1977

Jim McIntyre

The attached was returned in the President's outbox. It is forwarded to you for appropriate handling.

Rick Hutcheson

RE: 1979 FUNDING LEVEL APPEAL OF THE NATIONAL CANCER INSTITUTE

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

\perp	FOR STAFFING
	FOR INFORMATION
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		POWELL
		WATSON
/		McINTYRE
		SCHULTZE

ON

ENROLLED BILL
AGENCY REPORT
CAB DECISION
EXECUTIVE ORDER
Comments due to
Carp/Huron within
48 hours; due to
Staff Secretary
next day

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	BRZEZINSKI
	BUTLER
	CARP
	H. CARTER
	CLOUGH
	FALLOWS
	FIRST LADY
	HARDEN
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	JAGODA
	GAMMILL

	KRAFT
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	SCHLESINGER
	SCHNEIDERS
	STRAUSS
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	WARREN

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

DEC 27 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: 1979 Funding Level Appeal of the National Cancer Institute

By law, the National Cancer Institute (NCI) submits its budget request simultaneously to both OMB and HEW. NCI's original request was \$1,036 million. HEW recommends \$876 million within the initial Presidential allowance for overall NIH funding of \$2.9 billion.

NCI has appealed for its original request of \$1,036 million. We plan to advise NCI that its appeal is being denied and that the \$876 million is affirmed. Your Science Adviser concurs in this position.

Decision

10

Reaffirm \$876 million

/7

Allow NCI appeal of \$1,036 million

James T. McIntyre, Acting Director

Attachment

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IEMORANDUM

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE.

NATIONAL INSTITUTES OF HEALTH
NATIONAL CANCER INSTITUTE

Director, Office of Management & Budget

DATE: December 12, 1977

OM : Director, National Cancer Program

BJECT: 1979 Budget Appeal

We have been informed that the proposed President's Budget for 1979 contains \$876.185 million for the National Cancer Institute. The 1979 NCI budget estimate to OMB, which totalled \$1,036 million and 2,191 positions, was prepared at six levels, following the Zero-Base Budget format. Each level was carefully examined -- from \$740 million to \$1,036 million. The budget was developed with the advice and support of the National Cancer Advisory Board and the President's Cancer Panel. In light of NCI program needs and scientific opportunities, we must appeal the proposed budget level.

The proposed President's Budget level of \$876.185 million for the National Cancer Institute for fiscal year 1979 represents an increase of approximately 1% over the appropriation of \$867.136 million for fiscal year 1978. Since this is insufficient even to meet the increasing demands of inflation, it would require reduction of program. Such an impact would be especially unfortunate, since there has been little or no growth for NCI in terms of constant dollars (based on fiscal year 1970 dollars) during the past four years since 1975. An appropriation level of \$876.185 million translates into \$474 million in constant dollars, which would amount to a 9.4% decrease from the fiscal year 1975 level.

In order to sustain the momentum that has been generated in the National Cancer Program, and to avoid curtailing activities in areas of promise, a budget of \$1,036 million is required. Without this level of support, the efforts of many scientists throughout the country who have been recruited into the program could not be utilized fully. Because of the sacrifice in their productivity, timely opportunities for progress in the prevention of cancer and in the detection, diagnosis, and treatment of the disease would be neglected.

In the area of cancer prevention, there is mounting awareness of the role of environmental factors in the causation of cancer and a growing need for support by NCI to the federal regulatory agencies concerned with this problem. This has given special urgency to, and increased demand for, our activities in environmental carcinogenesis. Vigorous pursuit of existing program approaches can be expected to contribute significantly to improved knowledge of risk factors and more effective approaches to cancer prevention.

Similarly with respect to the detection, diagnosis, and treatment of cancer, current leads are sufficiently promising to merit vigorous follow-up. The survival of patients with certain forms of cancer has improved dramatically in recent years through advances in the combined use of surgery, radiation, and drugs. These advances have been most striking in the leukemias, lymphomas, and other malignancies which attack children and young adults. In Hodgkin's Disease, for example, it is now possible to enable more than 90 percent of patients with early stages of the disease to enjoy long-term survival ("five-year cures"). Such improvements are reflected in a steady decline of the overallmortality rate from all forms of cancer combined in the age groups under In older age groups, the results are less dramatic, but preliminary findings suggest that encouraging progress may be obtained through the application of similarly intensive chemotherapy as an adjuvant to surgery and radiation in the treatment of the more common types of cancer (e.g., cancer of the breast, lung, ovary, colon/rectum, and head/neck, which account for about 50 percent of all cancers).

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Some of the most important and promising investigations that would not be possible with a funding level of no more than \$876.185 million include the following:

- -- In the area of cancer prevention, studies on the effect of diet and nutrition in transitional populations (those which are involved in geographical relocation), which could provide insight into the influence of diet and lifestyle on cancer incidence, would have to be deferred. Also curtailed would be research on techniques for early diagnosis of cancer, methods for identification of high-risk groups, approaches toward refinement of bioassay techniques, and investigation into the role of psychological factors in the cause and progression of cancer.
- -- In the area of cancer treatment, it would not be possible to extend randomized controlled clinical trials into many new areas of opportunity, such as head and neck cancer, uterine cancer, pediatric brain tumors, and bladder cancer. (The cost per patient in clinical trials has increased in recent years from roughly \$1,000 to \$1,500, and the conduct of one clinical trial costs, in general, about \$1 million). In addition, it would not be possible to perform follow-up studies to the extent needed to resolve questions raised by existing trials in breast, colon, ovary, rectal, and lung cancer, or to evaluate newer forms of radiation therapy and immunotherapy. Drug development would also have to be decreased.
- -- In the area of cancer control and rehabilitation, terminal care and pain rehabilitation research programs would have to be curtailed.
- -- In the area of basic biology, our efforts to understand how growth is regulated in normal cells and what goes wrong in cancer cells would be adduced. Work on how signals from the surface of the cancer cell can allow or stop growth would be delayed, as would studies of how the immune system can regulate the growth of cancer cells.

In summary, the programs of the National Cancer Institute were studied carefully through the Zero Base Budget process. Those which are recommended for funding are important, promising, and deserve to be funded. To allow for this, NCI should be budgeted at a level of \$1,036 million for fiscal year 1979. Viewed in comparison with the many other demands which are placed each year on the budget of the United States, the devastation caused by cancer — it accounts for 690,000 new cases and 385,000 deaths per year, with an economic loss to this country of about \$20-\$25 billion annually — amply justifies an investment of \$1,036 million.

am e upon

Arthur C. Upton, M.D.

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON December 28, 1977

Jim Fallows

The attached was returned in the President's outbox. It is forwarded to you for appropriate handling.

Rick Hutcheson

RE: STATE OF THE UNION SPEECH AND MESSAGE





THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

FOR STAFFING FOR INFORMATION

FROM PRESIDENT'S OUTBOX

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN. THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 17, 1977

Work 13° 5tm -

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

JIM FALLOWS J.

SUBJECT:

State of the Union Speech and Message

As you asked at our meeting on December 7, I am submitting a list of the suggestions from all the Departments and many of the independent agencies for the State of the Union. (Only three Departments are missing: Justice, because it did not send me a list; Treasury, because Secretary Blumenthal said his suggestions would depend on the decisions made at the Economic Policy staff meeting on Monday; and Energy, because they said it's impossible to make recommendations while things are changing day by day in the Congress).

You agreed at our meeting to the idea of two State of the Union messages -- the speech itself, which would focus on the economy and have a brief foreign section; and a much longer written message, which could include all the other suggestions the Departments want to make.

You will see from the attached list that the great majority of these suggestions seem better suited to the written message than to the speech. I've placed an asterisk next to those ideas which might be suitable for the speech; the rest I recommend for the written message. If you disagree with the recommendations please just indicate so.

After you have approved the division of subjects between speech and message, I will consult with Charlie Schultze, Stu, Secretary Blumenthal, Dr. Brzezinski, the Vice President, and others to draw up a specific outline of the speech. Most of them have recommended not producing an outline yet, while some of the basic economic decisions have still to be made.

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STATE OF THE UNION: AGENCY LISTS

Respectively. **Electrostatic Copy Made** for Preservation Purposes Agriculture We cannot permit our agriculture to lose its competitive position in world trade -- exports should be expanded, as should Food for Peace. 2. The Farm Bill will bring these benefits in the coming year: higher income supports for basic crops; target price payments for some commodities; a farmer-owned and controlled food reserve program through commodity loans; even out boom-bust farm price cycles; reform domestic Food Stamp program. Department of Commerce The President must clearly explain his economic policy. The President should discuss the 1981 goals for employment, inflation, and the budget. The President should identify a number of major cyclical and economic adjustment problems. (Local public works programs, drought program, trade adjustment, economic adjustment). In preparing for the 1980 Census, much attention must be given to the right of privacy. Department of Defense The Administration must continue to take the lead to strengthen the defense of Western Europe through initiatives to improve the deterrent forces of NATO.

- * 2. We must continue our progress in limiting the number of strategic nuclear delivery vehicles.
 - 3. The strategic nuclear forces will still be based on TRIAD. Research and development should increase for the MX ICBM.
 - 4. The combat capability of the South Korean ground forces must be augmented to ensure peace in Korea. (In line with the phased withdrawal of U.S. ground combat troops.)
- *5. The U.S. should recude its participation in conventional arms transfers.

Department of Health, Education and Welfare

- * 1. National health insurance: announce principles and send legislation to Congress. (Doesn't fit economic theme, but important to mention briefly.)

 Hospital Cost Confairment
- * 2. Welfare reform -- get legislation through House and Senate.
 - 3. Drug law reform -- completely restructure nation's drug laws and get legislation through Congress by June 1978.

Department of Housing and Urban Development

1. Goals:

- * a) revitalize urban areas by targeting new and rehabilitative housing programs into deteriorating cities (local development equals jobs).
 - b) expand housing options to include all people.
 - 2. Proposed Small Cities Program would allow cities of less than

HUD - (continued)

- 50,000 to receive more community development funds with a minimum of paperwork.
- 3. End moratorium (begun under Nixon's bad plan) on subsidized housing for low and moderate income families. High goals have been set for FY 1978.
- * 4. Reduce inflation in the housing industry.
- 5. Encourage middle-income families to return to the cities. Prevent poorer old residents from being unfairly dislocated via urban renewal.

Department of Interior

- 1. Developing a national water policy should be our prime goal in 1978. (Recommendations to be sent to Congress early in the session.)
- 2. Other goals: set up system for funding of federal water projects; recommend changes in the 1902 Act (after studying "excess lands" restrictions) to allow family farmers to own more land.
- 3. We will soon suggest an urban recreation program.
- 4. We will propose a policy for developing the natural resources in 75% of Alaskan lands. Ninety-two million acres are to be protected from development.
- 5. More must be done to rescue our national parks and wildlife refugees from disrepair and neglect.
- 6. We have asked Congress to expand the Redwood National Park in Northern California. Workers who would lose their jobs through the expansion will be helped finding other jobs.
- 7. The President ought to reaffirm his support of Indian rights.
- 8. DOI is overseeing Outer Continental Shelf development and leasing. Need early action by Congress in 1978 to amend the OCS land Act.
- 9. Better enforcement of surface Mining Act.
- 10. Reform of the nation's Hardrock Mining Loans.
- 11. Need a new federal coal leasing program.

Department of Labor

- * 1. As well as being compassionate and competent, the government's economic policies must be practical. We must adjust to the many economic schocks the U.S. has had since WWII.
- * 2. Suggest a 4-part strategy:
 - a. Expand the economy (through a tax, spending, and credit policy) by 5% annually for at least the next 3 years.
 - b. Structural employment policies (including welfare reform, youth programs, and urban programs) must go into effect.

Labor - (continued)

- c. We need inflation policies to offset the inflationary bias of the last decade.
- d. We need an international economic policy to better distribute the trade surplus.
- * 3. We need to continue tax, spending, and credit policies to create an economic recovery of unprecedented length.

* Labor Law Reform

Department of State

- * 1. We must encourage industrialized nations to reach their growth targets, so as to reduce our own unemployment and help stimulate economic development in the Third World. (Global economic recovery).
- * 2. We must seek freer trade (MTN), stable prices, and growth in developing areas of the world.
- * 3. If we reach what we seek with SALT in the next few months, it will have many ramifications. (Reduce risk of nuclear war, set an example of our determination in this area, start reducing costly and expensive stockpiles of nuclear weapons.) include CTB
- * 4. The Panama Canal treaties would put our rights on a solid new legal basis and symbolize our new cooperative spirit. Bref, 5 from

Department of Transportation

- 1. Public transportation (inner city rail, bus, rail systems, better use of existing highways) must become an alternative to the private auto.
- ★ 2. There must be a comprehensive transportation policy -- a reduction from 30 to 10 programs is necessary, followed by a reorganization of the Department of Transportation.
 - 3. Federally-funded transportation systems (such as the railroads) are in a sad state. There needs to be a consolidated and consistent master plan.
 - 4. Users of the inland waterway system should, along with the federal government, begin to pay for it.
 - 5. Certain parts of highways and railways must be brought up to higher standard to handle the movement of coal.
 - 6. The country's 25 largest cities should have greater control over special funds, which must be used to improve housing and the environment, and conserve energy.
 - 7. Rural public transportation needs help.
 - 8. We should push for legislation to reform regulation of the commercial aviation industry.
 - 9. The 55 mph speed limit must be enforced.

E Deregulation - competition

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National Security Council

- a) Change in East/West and Soviet/American Relationship
 - i) Arms Control and Arms Limitation

SALT CTB Indian Ocean Negotiations Arms Transfer Policy

ii) Western Europe/NATO/EC

Reaffirmed and strengthened commitment to NATO Reaffirmed our commitment to European unity

- b) Creative US Involvement with Third World
 - i) Panama
 - ii) African initiatives
- c) Global Issues
 - i) Human Rights
 - ii) non proliferation
 - d) Middle East/Geneva

Central Intelligency Agency

- Centralize many, or most, intelligency tasks.
- 2. Generally reorganize the CIA.

one, sentence

Environmental Protection Agency

- 1. Government must continue to be diligent in reducing people's exposure to toxic substances in the environment. Prevention of environmentally-induced diseases is a high priority.
- 2. Second goal is improving the management of the federal government. Regulatory agencies must become more interested protecting the public rather than protecting special interests.

Equal Employment Opportunity Commission

- 1. We must show particular sensitivity to women's rights.
- 2. Reaffirm support of affirmative action.

Export - Import Bank of the U.S.

* 1. We need a coherent international trade policy, as we approach a \$30 billion trade deficit this year.

Federal Communications Commission

1. The government must be alert to new possibilities for applying technology.

Federal Trade Commission

- The public needs more accurate information concerning: nutrition, cost of energy, health care.
- Economic power should not be centralized in a small number of gigantic firms.
 - While protecting our vital industries, we should do everything possible to see that consumers enjoy the benefits of free international trade,

Anti-trust, etc

General Services Administration

- Continue the following:
 - reduce energy consumption in federal and historic buildings support solar energy demonstration projects

b.

- c. building demonstration projects for energy conservation
- making federally-owned and leased vehicles more d. fuel efficient
- relocating federal agencies in central business districts e.

recycling wastepaper f.

expanding the "living buildings" program a.

improve the design of federal buildings in the art-inh. architecture program

Interstate Commerce Commission

- Congress must act to reduce the membership of the Commission from 11 to 7.
- The economic regulation of motor carriers must be reformed.

National Aeronautics and Space Administration

- We must reduce aviation fuel consumption by 1/2 in the next decade (save 100 barrels/yr. and reduce pollution of atmosphere by 90% to allow U.S. aircraft to meet all clean air standards).
- We should reaffirm our commitment to the Space Shuttle.

Occupational Safety and Health Review Commission

1. Express more concern for the rights of employees and small business employers in settling OSHA cases. (Adapt rules to allow informal speedy procedure and waive the formal one).

Securities and Exchange Commission

A national market system for securities is necessary; it is essential to maintain investor confidence in our securities markets.

Small Business Administration

- We must cut federal red tape, paperwork, and restrictive tax laws that hinder both the SBA and its clients.
- One of the highest priorities is helping more women and minorities set up their own businesses.

SBA - (continued)

- 73. The Business Revitalization Program, which is now being tried out in 23 cities, is helping declining businesses and thereby creating jobs, improving real property values, strengthening the local tax base.
 - 4. [Small businesses] share of federal contracts in 1978 should be \$18 billion.

 just mention Im Pusinesses somewhere

U.S. Arms Control and Disarmanment Agency

1. National and international security can be promoted via SALT, comprehensive test ban, restraints on conventional arms transfers and chemical weapons control.

U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

- * 1. We must concentrate on the disproportionately high rates of unemployment among women and minorities.
 - 2. We must reaffirm the Administration's commitment to affirmative action.
 - 3. We must reaffirm our commitment to civil and human rights in this society, as well as abroad.

United States Information Agency

1. We should establish an Agency for International Communication, as proposed in our Reorganization plan.

U.S. International Trade Commission

- * 1. We should pursue more vigorously unfair trade practices by foreign competitors.
- * 2. We need more flexibility in giving aid to domestic firms threatened by foreign competition.
 - 3. We should consider whether we need a new Dept of International Trade Investment.

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Justice

- 1. The Justice Department must develop a crime program focusing on organized crime, white collar crime, public corruption, and drug trafficking.
 - 2. A goal is to get a new Federal Criminal Code through the Congress in 1978. (The most comprehensive revision of our federal criminal law in the nation's history.)
 - 3. Another goal is better resolution of disputes. One idea is an experiment with compulsory but non-binding arbitration in some federal civil cases. (One step is to improve the conduct of litigation.)
 - 4. We need an electronic surveillance bill, federal relief for victims of crime, and a bill to keep juveniles out of hard-core jails.

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

December 28, 1977

Hamilton Jordan

The attached was returned in the President's outbox. It is forwarded to you for appropriate handling.

Rick Hutcheson

RE: APPOINTMENT TO FOURTH CIRCUIT COURT OF APPEAL (N.C.)

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

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ENROLLED BILL
AGENCY REPORT
CAB DECISION
EXECUTIVE ORDER
Comments due to
Carp/Huron within
48 hours; due to
Staff Secretary

next day

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THE WHITE HOUSE

December 27, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

HAMILTON JORDAN 7. 4.

SUBJECT:

Appointment to Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals (North Carolina Vacancy)

Attached are the Attorney General's recommendations, a joint memorandum from Bob Lisphutz and Frank Moore, and a separate memo from Frank all relating to this appointment.

This is a difficult one and presents problems not easy to solve. If we take McMillan, whom the Attorney General and Lipshutz think most qualified, we risk alienating Senator Morgan seriously in Frank's opinion. Frank and his people have been very responsible on matters of this sort, and I trust his judgment on probable reaction by the Senator. Because of this and the general political problems in North Carolina, I recommend you take no action at this time but direct Frank, Bob, the Attorney General and myself to try to find some way to get ourselves out from under with minimal political risk.

Approve McMillan appointment______

Approve Phillips appointment_____

Have group try to work out alternative_____

Electrostatic Copy Made for Preservation Purposes

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either Mann to me

None commit so

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 23, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH:

Hamilton Jordan

FROM:

Bob Lipshutz

Frank Moore

SUBJECT:

Appointment to Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals (North Carolina

Vacancy)

Attached is a memorandum to you from the Attorney General relative to this appointment.

We urge that you appoint Judge James B. McMillan of Charlotte to this vacancy:

- 1. We concur with the Attorney General and Senator Sam Ervin that he is the best-qualified person among those submitted by the Judicial Nominating Panel.
- 2. While he has some popular and political opposition, based primarily on some of the decisions which he made in civil rights matters as a United States District Court Judge, he also has some very strong popular and political support in the state of North Carolina.
- 3. Although Senator Morgan has voiced opposition to the appointment of McMillan, he could not be expected to express real support for any of the five persons on this list. Furthermore, we doubt that he would seek to hold up the appointment of either McMillan or Phillips, even though he might find it easier to accede to the appointment of Phillips. (Frank disagrees; see attached memo.)
- 4. Senator Helms is opposed to everyone on the list and actually wants us to open up the nomination process once again, which we think would be a very big mistake in this case or in other cases. Furthermore, it is unlikely that someone selected

by Senator Helms would be someone in whom you would have confidence to appoint!

- 5. Should there be serious opposition expressed in the course of the Senate confirmation hearings, we believe that the personal appearance of Senator Sam Ervin, which he has volunteered, would overcome any such opposition.
- 6. This appointment would be well-received by a number of your national constituency groups.

 _Approve	selection	of	Judge M	cMillan.
 _Approve	selection	of	Dickson	Phillips
 Other				

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 23, 1977

MEMORANDUM TO ROBERT LIPSHUTZ

FROM:

FRANK MOORE F. M.

Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals Appointment SUBJECT:

I accept yours and the Attorney General's word that McMillan is the best qualified. I disagree with your analysis that Senator Morgan would not attempt to hold up the appointment I think with two appointments over here, he of McMillan. would generate a hell of a campaign against McMillan for the purpose of getting Phillips.

Since the Governor is for Phillips and most of the Party, and they are afraid that McMillan will be replaced by a black not to their liking, we would have a hard time getting McMillan confirmed.

I do not worry about Senator Helms at all. We need to challenge the Republican blue slip prerogative some time, and I doubt this is the best one to win on with Eastland. Eastland's likely course is to delay it knowing he will have to give in sometime, and this will play into the hands of Helms--who would love to have McMillan as an issue in his election campaign.

If you want to go ahead with McMillan, I would like to talk with Morgan one more time just to see what all we will lose him on. I would hate to go through a protracted battle for McMillan and lose Morgan on Panama, SALT and give Helms a popular issue against Luther Hodges, and still end up getting Phillips.



Office of the Attorney General Washington, A. C. 20530

December 21, 1977

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

RE: Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals
North Carolina Vacancy

A copy of the Judicial Nominating Panel's report is attached, along with resumes on the five persons recommended. The two best candidates on the list, in order of preference, are: 1. Judge McMillan and 2. Dickson Phillips.

Judge McMillan was an excellent practitioner before going on the District Court. He is the only candidate with judicial experience. In his judicial service he has had to make some decisions in civil rights matters which have not been popular in North Carolina. I do not feel he should be punished for this. He has the strong support of former Senator Sam Ervin, whose letter is attached.

While I feel that McMillan is the best candidate, Dickson Phillips would be the most popular in North Carolina, where he has served as dean of the North Carolina Law School and has generally avoided controversy.

Senator Morgan and Senator Helms have both voiced opposition to the appointment of McMillan. Both, in fact, have expressed opposition to everyone on the list, but I doubt they would seek to hold up the appointment of Phillips.

grupping B. Beech

Griffin B. Bell Attorney General

Attachments

United States Circuit Judge Nominating Commission

FOURTH CIRCUIT PANEL

Please reply to:

Wesley M. Walker, Chairman 217 East Coffee Street Post Office Box 2248 Greenville, South Carolina 29602 803/242-6440

September 1, 1977

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

It is my pleasure to present herewith the recommendations of the United States Circuit Judge Nominating Commission for the vacancy on the Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit.

The Commission held its meetings pursuant to the notices published in the Federal Register and there was virtually full attendance of the members. During these meetings the Commission interviewed thirteen candidates and I am happy to say that at all times and in all respects the members of the Commission were vitally interested, concerned and fully dedicated to their duties and responsibilities.

The following are the five persons whom we wish to recommend, listed in alphabetical order with post office addresses:

William Van Alstyne, Esquire Room 231 Law Building Duke University Durham, North Carolina 27706

Julius L. Chambers, Esquire Suite 730, East Independence Plaza 951 South Independence Boulevard Charlotte, North Carolina 28202 Honorable James B. McMillan United States District Judge Room 254 United States Post Office and Courthouse Charlotte, North Carolina 28231

J. Dickson Phillips, Esquire University of North Carolina School of Law Chapel Hill. North Carolina 27514

A. Kenneth Pye, Esquire
Office of Chancellor
Allen Building
Duke University
Durham, North Carolina 27706

Also, please find herewith the completed questionnaires for the above-named five persons. Each of these applicants submitted additional material including samples of their professional writings, opinions, etc. which I am retaining for the present time. If the additional material is desired with respect to the above-named persons, I will transmit the same promptly upon instructions from The White House or the Office of the Attorney General.

Respectfully/yours,

Wesley M. Walker Chairman of the Panel SAM J. ERVIN, JR.
P. O. BOX 69
MORGANTON, NORTH CAROLINA 28655

AREA CODE 704 437-5532

December 9, 1977

12 1377

Honorable Griffin B. Bell Attorney General Department of Justice Washington, D. C.

Dear Judge Bell:

In view of the fact that he had a distinguished legal career before becoming a Judge, and has had much judicial experience, I believe that United States District Judge James B. McMillan of Charlotte would be the most appropriate appointee to fill the vacancy on the Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit occasioned by the death of Judge Craven.

Judge McMillan is a tireless student of the law, possesses complete intellectual integrity, and will render decisions according to law as he understands it, regardless of whether they are popular or unpopular.

Moreover, he is an extremely patient man and will give the most thoughtful attention to any argument made before him.

With all kind wishes for the Christmas Season, I am

Sincerely yours,

Sam J. Ervin, Jr.

SJE: mm

AUGUST KENNETH PYE

Born August 21, 1931, New York, New York. B.A. 1951, University of Buffalo (graduate in three years, summa cum laude, Phi Beta Kappa, vice-president, student government, major letter in fencing); J.D. 1953, LLM. 1955, Georgetown University Law Center (graduated in two years, ranking first in accelerated group or second in class of 1953 or third in class of 1954, member, National Moot Court team which won national championship, secretary of student government, Order of the Coif).

Experience:

1953-55 While studying for LLM. was on active duty with the Army. Represented the

government in appeals from general

court martials;

1955-1966 Professor of law, Georgetown University;

1956-59 Associated with firm of Chase & McChesney,

Washington, D. C. Summer, 1959, taught

comparative criminal procedure at Goethe

University, Frankfurt;

1960 Became first director of the legal

internship program at Georgetown;

1961 Became associate dean of the law center;

1966-67 Program specialist in legal education

· with the Ford Foundation in India;

1967-present Various positions at Duke University

Law School. 1968, Dean of Duke Law

Law School. July, 1970-September, 1971, Chancellor, Duke University (roughly equivalent to position of executive vice-president of corporation). 1971 to 1973, University Counsel, (roughly equivalent to general counsel of a corporation). 1973 to 1976, Dean of the Law School. 1976 to present, Chancellor of Duke University. Has continued to teach throughout his years with Duke University.

Comments:

NO. IN COLUMN THE PARTY OF THE

Does not have extensive litigating experience, although, has tried a number of cases before court's martial and subsequently during his tenure as a professor. Ninety percent of litigation experience has been criminal and almost all of it in federal courts. Has taught a large variety of courses, including civil procedure, criminal procedure, legislation, evidence, criminal law, agency, conflict of laws, domestic relations, partnerships, the legal profession and the seminar on legal problems of the University. Has a three page list of publications. Served as chairman of the most significant committees at both Duke and Has been an active member of the Bar and has served Georgetown. on several professional committees, including Chairman of the judicial conference of the District of Columbia Circuit Committee on Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure, trustee, Public Defender 1967-present Agency for the District of Columbia, Chairman, District of Law

Columbia Bail Project, Chairman, Board of Directors' Neighborhood.

Legal Service Project and Chairman, Task Force on Apprehension and Suppression, Governor's Committee on Law and Order in North Carolina. Is on the Board of Directors of the Durham Chamber of Commerce and the Durham YMCA.

-371

JAMES DIXON PHILLIPS, JR.

Born September 23, 1922, Scotland County, North Carolina, B.S. 1943, Davidson College (Phi Beta Kappa, Captain, Varsity Baseball); LLB. 1948, University of North Carolina School of Law (Associate Editor, North Carolina Law Review; Order of the Coif).

Experience:

1948-49

1949-1960

Covernment, Chapel Hill, North Carolina;
Private law practice successively with
the law firms of Phillips & McCoy,
Laurinburg, North Carolina; Sanford,
Phillips, McCoy and Weaver, Fayetteville,
North Carolina (now known as McCoy, Weaver,
Wiggins, Cleveland and Raper).
Member of Faculty, School of Law,
University of North Carolina; Dean from

Assistant Director, Institute of

1960-present

Comments:

His law practice was general criminal and civil practice, including real estate, probate, administrative law, contract and property matters, state planning and corporate law. He appeared in court regularly, principally in state courts and in civil cases, with a high percentage of jury trials. As a law professor, he has taught contracts, real property, personal property, legal method, agency, remedies, civil procedure, trial and appellate practice, estate and gift tax,

1964-74.

trial advocacy and appellant review seminar. He is currently alumni distinguished professor of law. He has been appointed by the governor to serve on the North Carolina Wildlife Resources Commission (1961-63), the North Carolina Courts Commission (1963-75, vice-chairman), and the North Carolina Board of Ethics (1977). Was candidate for Democratic nomination as Solicitor of Scotland County Records Court in Spring of 1950. Has a few publications, principally in the North Carolina Law Review. Several of them are on appellate procedure. Has served on several committees at the University in recent years, including a Committee on Affirmative Action and the faculty hearings committee (tenure hearings). Was a member of the Board of Governors of the North Carolina Bar Association from 1961-64 and was chairman of the Committee of the National Conference Bar Examiners to determine feasibility of testing in civil procedure from 1974-76. In 1975, received a memorial award from the North Carolina Bar Association for service to the cause of jurisprudence in North Carolina and in -1977 received the Thomas Jefferson Award by the University of North Carolina. From time to time in recent years, he has acted. as special counsel to various law firms in litigation matters, especially at the appellate level. This does not involve court room appearances.

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JAMES BRYAN McMILLAN

Born December 19, 1916, Goldsboro, North Carolina. A.B. in Economics, University of North Carolina, 1937. LL.B., Harvard Law School, 1940 (moot court).

EXPERIENCE

1939 Law clerk, McLean & Stacy, Lumberton, N.C.

1940-1942 Office of the Attorney General of North Carolina

1942-1945 United States Navy, achieved rank of senior Lieutenant (bomb disposal officer)

1946-1968 Helms, Mulliss, McMillan & Johnston of Charlotte, N.C.

1968-present United States District Judge, Western District of North Carolina

COMMENTS

Judge McMillan presided over <u>Swann et. al.</u>

<u>v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education</u>. Also ruled in favor of a fired school teacher in <u>Moore v. Gaston</u>

<u>County Board of Education</u> (issues were similar to Scopes monkey trial.) In <u>Carolina Environmental Study Group v.</u>

<u>United States Atomic Energy Commission</u>, he ruled unconstitutional the Price-Anderson Act's limit on total amount of recovery for all persons who might be injured in a nuclear power plant accident. Rulings have generally upheld civil liberty positions, particularly in several cases involving rights of school children to due process and free speech. Ruled against the FCC in <u>Jefferson Standard Broadcasting Co.</u>

v. Federal Communications Commission, commenting on the

FCC's action in this case as "grossly arbitrary." Ostensibly a tax case, Judge McMillan suspected it also involved "a purpose to dominate the broadcaster." Prior to appointment to the federal bench, his practice was primarily civil, especially in the casualty insurance field. Much litigating experience.

Not many publications, outside of opinions. His writing has a humorous, folksy quality. As a young attorney, he successfully defended a livestock yard against a suit by a mule dealer who had been kicked at a sales stable. McMillan cited Exodus 21, verses 28 and 29, and asserted that a mule was entitled to one kick. Former president of North Carolina Bar Association. Played significant role in drafting legislation to create the North Carolina district court system, as a member of the North Carolina Courts Commission.

WILLIAM WARNER VAN ALSTYNE

Born February 8, 1934, Chico, California. BA, 1955, University of Southern California (Magna cum laude, student body president, Phi Beta Kappa); J.D., 1958, Stanford University Law School (1st place Moot Court, Order of the Coif)

EXPERIENCE

1958-59	Attorney in Civil Rights Division of US Justice Dept.,
	recruited through Attorney General's Program for
	Honor Law Graduates
1959-61	Assistant Professor of Law and Assistant Dean, Ohio
	State University School of Law
1961-63	Associate Professor, Ohio State University Law School
1964	Full Professor, Ohio State University Law School
1965-	Full Professor, Duke University Law School. In 1973
present	was named William R. Perkins Professor of Law at Duke

COMMENTS

Van Alstyne describes his legal practice as follows:
"In the course of becoming a full time law teacher. . . I resolved to participate in litigation only to the extent that . . . it would contribute to my abilities as a teacher and a scholar. . . and solely as a means of making. . . certain that what I might teach or write was. . . well connected with the realities of what courts, agencies, and legislative bodies do." He has helped brief and argue several cases in the federal courts that raise constitutional issues, principally as amicus curiae. Such cases were selected based on "relevance of certain legal issues to the subjects I teach."

Has taught Constitutional Law, Conflicts of Law, Federal Practice of Civil Rights, Contracts, Administrative Law, State and Local Government. Extensive writing, particularly on matters of Constitutional law and civil liberties. Former National President and General Counsel of the American Association of University Professors. National Board of Directors of American Civil Liberties Union, 1972-76. One of 15 American law scholars invited by the Federal Republic of Germany to participate in comparative constitutional law seminar in Bonn during 1976, part of the Bicentennial observance. Honorary LL.D. from Wake Forest University.

JULIUS LeVONNE CHAMBERS

Born October 6, 1936, Mt. Gilead, North Carolina. B.A., 1958, North Carolina College at Durham (Summa cum laude, student government president, numerous honor societies)
MA in history, 1959, University of Michigan (Woodrow Wilson Scholarship). J.D. with High Honors, 1962, University of North Carolina School of Law (Order of the Coif, Order of the Golden Fleece, Editor of Law Review.) Masters of Laws Degree, 1963, Columbia University School of Law.

EXPERIENCE

, <u>4</u>.-•

1963 Taught first-year law students at Columbia Law School while obtaining Masters of Law degree

1964-68 Practice law alone in Charlotte, NC

1968 - Partner in Chambers, Stein, Ferguson & Becton, P.A. present Charlotte, N.C.

COMMENTS

Extensive litigating experience in civil rights area. Chief counsel for plaintiffs in Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education. Also Chambers v. Hendersonville City Board of Education, successfully representing black teachers who had been terminated in the implementation of a desegregation plan) and Coppedge v. Franklin County Board of Education, requiring the abandonment of a freedom-of-choice desegregation plan. Also litigated a number of employment discrimination cases, including one affirming the right of an individual plaintiff to bring a class action suit against Albemarle Paper Company. From 1965 to 1969 was United States Commissioner in the Western Dis-

trict of North Carolina, presiding over probable cause and bail hearings. Extensive work for the NAACP Legal Defense & Education Fund, including service as President of the Board. Honorary J.D. from St. Augustine's College. Frequent guest lecturer at law schools, including University of Pennsylvania and University of Virginia. Many "distinguished service" awards from local organizations and chapters.